

6/16/78 Trip to Panama

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Memo	Kraft & Gammill to Pres. Carter, w/attachments 5 pp., re: recommendations	6/14/78	C
Speech	Speech, 5 index cards, re: In Spanish	6/16/78	C
Memo	Henry Owen to Pres. Carter, w/attachments 7 pp., re: Energy & Summit <i>opened per RAC NLC-126-13-6-1-0, 4/24/13</i>	6/15/78	A

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RESTRICTION CODES

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DANGER, CONFLICT/COLLUSION ⁽²⁾
JEF: CH → ST RESTR LIBERTY
RWMS: CH CORRUPTED BY STATE
1ST NO EST - NO LAWS
APART IN LAW

REL PERSON CANT DIVORCE
CANT IMPOSE
LORD'S WILL - PROFESSION
I am ~~man~~ + POLITICIAN

NEVER DETECTED, EXPR
CONFLICT G'S WILL VS PUB DUTY

NOT UNSAVORY DEGRADING
ACCEPT SPECIM
OPPOR & LOVE → JUSTICE
CHANGE, BOLD MISSION ^{IS}

WE'RE INFLUENTIAL

"UNTO MUCH GIVEN/REQ
TO WHOM ^{we} COM MUCH/ASK MORE"

TOO MANY DERELICT

EX: H RTS. SLAVERY. SEG

TIMID VOICE = LESSON?

SILENT - H RTS - BROAD DEFINE
CONVENTION RESO - ^{1/2} ARMS

LOC - US - INT

HOLOCAUST

OTHER INT ?'S = PEACE,
FREE, NUKES, ARMS, TERROR
POPULATION

SB COM. 6/16/78

Amb Dennis, Rev Hardy
G ME Cullough MY ^{COUNTRY} TIS ⁽¹⁾
COOP PROG. A BRYANT

EV LIFE. GOVT: US → OTHERS

RESP. DEMO/IND: INFL GOVT

FREEDOM. GROWTH/LIMITS

PRES. GOVT PERS. CHILD

BRO IN CHRIST ^{PRIV}
DEHUMANIZE. CONFLICT IN/OUT
PUB

PLAINS - RR -

BAPT PROGRESS - BOLD MISSIONS

OWN VS GOD'S - ^{NOT} INHERENT

ABE. GANDHI - MLK

L. RICE - A ARMS - L. MOON

FOURTEENS -
IN & OUT

PEACE, SPIRIT → EVAN, PUB, HUM

LINKED

BAPT - TOO INWARD

NOT DENIAL OF WORLD

~~KNOW~~ KNOW OURSELVES, GOD

FACE FEARS → FULL LIFE

PRAYER, ETC → ASSURANCE

SOME → POLITICAL, OK

ISAIAH, JEREMIAH - GOD'S

JUDG, BASTIONS OF POWER

> POL PROBS, MORAL, PRECEPTS ⁽³⁾
NIEBUHR & SOCIETY VS PERSONS

(MOR MAN - IMMOR JOC)

LOVE EOUT PRIDE, ARROGANCE

LEADERS ^{RISK} ISOLATION

WORSHIP - BRIDGE GAP

TIMIDITY = B MIS DIFFICULT

NO FAIL, TRY HARD, GIVE UP

RISK - BITTERNESS
WANT US. PREEMINENT

SO STRONG - NOT PROVE

GENTLE, FAIR, PATIENT, GENEROUS

PANAMA ^Δ TIME

^{SEAS} ISOLATION VS STRONG

SECURITY & OTHERS

NOT IGNORE, ISO

" DOMINATE, STRONG

NEW RESP, OPPOR - HOW
HANDLE?

EMOTIONAL, SPIR MATURITY

POWER, WEALTH - NOT ENOUGH

ANALYZE FAULTS

AUTH MORAL VS MIL,

HUMIL VS PRIDE, SERVE/DOMINATE

PERSON CONFLICT GOD, MAN

NATION EOUT MORAL, NO INFLUENCE

NATIONS - INWARD JOURNEY

STRONGER

↓
OUTWARD

(4)

MOSES - 40 yrs INW -

~~JEFF. CLOUD, PILLAR~~

OUTWARD JOURNEY FM INW.

- WHAT ARE GOALS?
PERSON, DENOMINATION
NATION, GOALS SAME

PEACE, HUMILITY,

HUM RTS BASED ON MORAL

ALLEVIATE SUFFERING,

HUNG, AFFLICT,

SHARE - IDEALS & FAITH

TO OTHERS

JUSTICE, LOVE

JEFF. CLOUD, PILLAR & FIRE

- GREAT OUTWARD ^{ISRAELITES} NOT

SUCCEEDED TOUT INWARD

- NEITHER CAN OURS

IND, DENOM, NATION

THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR
TRADE NEGOTIATIONS
WASHINGTON
20506

M^cJ
J

June 13, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Ambassador Robert S. Strauss *R.S.*

There are two things we discussed that you might want to consider with McIntyre and others:

1. Instruction to all Departments to develop a plan for cutting back on travel expense by 20 to 25 percent. I am advised that these budgets, generally speaking, are very full in this area.

2. A suggestion to the Departments of the Government that there will be absolutely no spending the last few months of the year to use up expiring appropriations. This has been a common practice for many years.

Jim - a) work on this.
b) Let me know what procedure you're using in OMB to detect problems in appropriation sub-committees. I'm getting the word too late - Tip, Mahon, etc are a little aggravated - J.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 16, 1978

Jim McIntyre

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Frank Moore

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Friday-June 16, 1978

8:00

Depart South Grounds via Helicopter en route
Atlanta, Georgia, and Panama.

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1978

*Before/After Conv.
Cool Program
Bryant*

AMBASSADOR DENNIS, CONGRESSMAN BUCHANAN,

REVEREND HARDY, GLENDON McCULLOUGH, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS.....

Ev life/govt

AS PRESIDENT, I HAVE SEEN EVER MORE CLEARLY THAT,
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, ALMOST EVERY LIFE IS TOUCHED BY
GOVERNMENT.

Ev nation/us

IT IS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT EVERY OTHER NATION IS
TOUCHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Resp

THIS PUTS A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY ON ME AND ON YOU
AS AMERICANS -- AND AS CHRISTIANS.

Demo/Ind

IN A DEMOCRACY SUCH AS OURS, PEOPLE ARE THE SHAPERS
AND THE MASTERS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT, AND OUR INDIVIDUALITY
AND PERSONAL FREEDOM ARE CAREFULLY PRESERVED.

--WE DECIDE, THEREFORE, . . .

Diff govt

WE DECIDE, THEREFORE, NOT ONLY WHAT WE ARE AS
INDIVIDUAL PERSONS, BUT WE ALSO INFLUENCE WHAT OUR
GOVERNMENT AND OUR NATION ARE TO BE.

*Free dom -
Growth
Limits*

AS CHRISTIANS, WE ARE TAUGHT TO USE THIS FREEDOM
FOR GROWTH AND TO LEARN THE PROPER LIMITS ON OUR OWN
PERSONAL FREEDOM AS WE CARE FOR OTHERS.

Pres - govt personal

EVEN FOR A PRESIDENT, GOVERNMENT IS A VERY PERSONAL
THING.

Child

LAST YEAR A CHILD WROTE ME: "WOULD YOU RATHER
BE PRESIDENT OR A REAL PERSON?"

IN SPEAKING TO YOU -- MY BROTHERS IN CHRIST --
I HAVE KEPT THAT QUESTION IN MIND.

Dehumanize

OUR MODERN, FAST-CHANGING WORLD TENDS TO
DEHUMANIZE EVEN THOSE WHO ARE NOT PRESIDENTS.

*Conflict
priv inner
pub outward*

THERE IS A GROWING CONFLICT BETWEEN OUR PRIVATE
INWARD AND OUR PUBLIC OUTWARD LIVES.

Plains

R.R.

WHEN I WAS A BOY IN PLAINS, GEORGIA....(THAT'S
THE TOWN WHICH IS MY HOME)....I CAN REMEMBER STANDING
BY THE RAILROAD TRACK AS STEAM ENGINES ROARED AND
RATTLED THROUGH OUR TOWN.

THOSE BIG SILVER DRIVE WHEELS WERE TURNED BY
BEING PUSHED AND PUMPED BY HUGE CONNECTING RODS.

BACK AND FORTH THOSE SHAFTS SURGED TO MOVE THE
ENGINE AND THE LADEN CARS FORWARD.

BOTH DIRECTIONS OF THE RODS WERE ESSENTIAL IF
THE TRAIN WAS TO MAKE ANY PROGRESS AT ALL.

AS BAPTISTS, WE ARE TALKING . . .

AS BAPTISTS, WE ARE TALKING THESE DAYS ABOUT PROGRESS -

*Progress
B.M.S*

ABOUT "BOLD MISSIONS" -- A SELF-IMPOSED CHALLENGE TO OURSELVES
AND OTHERS TO DO GOD'S WILL BOLDLY AND EFFECTIVELY,
MAKING THE BEST USE OF OUR TALENTS AND OPPORTUNITIES.

TOO OFTEN, WE ARE WILLING TO SPEND OUR TALENTS

*own vs
God*

MORE FREELY FOR WEALTH, OR PERSONAL RECOGNITION, OR
VICTORY IN COMPETITION, THAN FOR GOD'S WORK.

AS A SCIENTIST, AS A NAVAL OFFICER, AS A
POLITICAL CANDIDATE, I TRIED TO GIVE 100 PERCENT
OF MY EFFORT, WITHOUT STINT.

BUT AS A CHRISTIAN, I HAVE TOO OFTEN GIVEN MUCH LESS.

*Not
inherent*

THIS IS NOT AN INHERENT HUMAN TRAIT.

SOME MEN AND WOMEN SET OUT ON A BOLD MISSION
WITH TOTAL COMMITMENTS THAT LAST A LIFETIME, AND WITH
RESULTS THAT LAST FAR LONGER.

*3 Mis -
Abe - Grand hi -
King*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, MAHATMA GANDHI, AND MARTIN LUTHER
KING, JR., WERE ALL SUCH MEN.

*+
L Rice, A Arms
L Moon*

IN OUR OWN CHURCH, LUTHER RICE, ANNIE ARMSTRONG
AND LOTTIE MOON ARE AMONG THOSE WHOSE WHOLE LIVES
BECAME BOLD MISSIONS.

in + out

THEIR JOURNEYS WERE, AS OURS MUST BE, DIRECTED
INWARD AS WELL AS OUTWARD.

Peace, growth

THE JOURNEY INWARD IS TOWARD INNER PEACE AND
SPIRITUAL GROWTH; THE JOURNEY OUTWARD LEADS TO
EVANGELISTIC ENTERPRISES AND TO INVOLVEMENT IN PUBLIC
AFFAIRS AND THE PROBLEMS FACING HUMAN SOCIETY.

*Evan - Pub
human*

--THESE JOURNEYS ARE

Linked

THESE JOURNEYS ARE LINKED.

NEITHER CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY MADE ALONE.

FROM TIME TO TIME WE BAPTISTS HAVE BECOME SO
CONCERNED WITH THE JOURNEY INWARD THAT WE HAVE SHUNNED
INVOLVEMENT IN THE HUMAN PROBLEMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE.

*Baptists
too inward*

WE HAVE BECOME ISOLATED, SELF-CENTERED,
SELF-SATISFIED OR PROUD.

*Not denial
of world*

THE JOURNEY INWARD SHOULD NOT BECOME A DENIAL
OF THE WORLD,BUT RATHER A PREPARATION TO EXPAND
OUR LIVES AND TO MEET OUTWARD CHALLENGES AS THEY ARISE.

*Know ourselves
face fears
surrender
to God*

THE JOURNEY INWARD LETS US BECOME BETTER
ACQUAINTED WITH OURSELVES, SO THAT WE CAN FACE OUR FEARS,
SURRENDER THEM TO GOD, AND THEN FACE THE EXCITEMENT AND
*face
full life*
CHALLENGE OF A FULL LIFE WITH CALM AND CONFIDENCE.

THROUGH PERSONAL MEDITATION, PRIVATE PRAYER,
AND REGULAR WORSHIP WITH OTHERS WE CAN GAIN THE
PERSPECTIVE AND THE ASSURANCE WE NEED TO UNDERTAKE
Then out
THE JOURNEY OUTWARD.

Some Political
THAT JOURNEY TAKES SOME OF US INTO THE
POLITICAL WORLD.

WE MUST NOT SHY AWAY FROM THAT ARENA.

Isiah, Jeremiah
SUCH OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS AS ISAIAH AND
JEREMIAH, AFTER ALL, PRONOUNCED THE JUDGMENT OF GOD
FROM THE VERY BASTIONS OF POLITICAL POWER.

Danger - Conflict, collusion
THERE IS, HOWEVER, A DANGER OF UNWARRANTED
CONFLICT OR COLLUSION.

Jefferson Church lead state
THOMAS JEFFERSON FEARED THAT THE CHURCH MIGHT
LEAD THE STATE TO RESTRICT INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES.

--ROGER WILLIAMS, WHO FOUNDED . . .

RWms Church corrupted
ROGER WILLIAMS, WHO FOUNDED THE FIRST BAPTIST
CHURCH IN AMERICA, FEARED THAT THE CHURCH WOULD BE
CORRUPTED BY TOO CLOSE AN ASSOCIATION WITH THE STATE.

*1st Amend
No est of ch
No laws to
restrict*
FROM THESE FEARS WAS BORN THE FIRST AMENDMENT
TO OUR CONSTITUTION, WHICH PREVENTS THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF A STATE CHURCH ON ONE HAND AND, ON THE OTHER HAND,
PROHIBITS LAWS AFFECTING THE FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION.

*Appt in law
Religious person - cannot
divorce*
THE INSTITUTIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE ARE THUS
SET APART IN LAW -- ALTHOUGH THE RELIGIOUS PERSON IN
PUBLIC LIFE CANNOT DIVORCE FAITH FROM THE CONDUCT OF
OFFICE, NOR USE PUBLIC OFFICE TO IMPOSE THAT FAITH ON
OTHERS.

*Discussion on
God's will in
profession*

MANY OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS HERE IN ATLANTA HAVE
FOCUSED ON HOW TO CARRY OUT THE LORD'S WILL IN OUR
OWN OCCUPATIONS AND PROFESSIONS.

I

I AM A SOUTHERN BAPTIST LAYMAN, DEACON AND
SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER AND A FULLTIME POLITICIAN.

I HAVE NEVER DETECTED NOR EXPERIENCED ANY CONFLICT
BETWEEN GOD'S WILL AND MY POLITICAL DUTIES.

*Politics not
unsavory
degrading*

I KNOW MANY PEOPLE FEEL THAT POLITICS IS SOMEHOW
UNSAVORY OR DEGRADING, BUT I HAVE NOT FOUND THAT TO BE
TRUE.

Oppor

*Love →
justice*

POLITICAL SERVICE PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY, INSTEAD,
TO DO WHAT I PLEDGED TO DO WHEN I ACCEPTED THE DEMOCRATIC
NOMINATION NEARLY TWO YEARS AGO -- TO TRANSLATE LOVE
AGGRESSIVELY INTO SIMPLE JUSTICE.

--IT GIVES ME A CHANCE . . .

*Chance
B Mission*

IT GIVES ME A CHANCE FOR A BOLD MISSION.

*We are
influential*

MOST OF US HERE -- EVEN APART FROM ANY PUBLIC
OFFICE OR POSITION -- ARE INFLUENTIAL IN OUR OWN
PROFESSION OR IN OUR OWN COMMUNITIES, AND HAVE THE
CHANCE TO PURSUE A BOLD MISSION IN LIFE.

Spec duty

WE ALSO HAVE A SPECIAL DUTY, AS JESUS MAKES CLEAR:
"FOR UNTO WHOMSOEVER MUCH IS GIVEN, OF HIM SHALL BE
MUCH REQUIRED; AND TO WHOM MEN HAVE COMMITTED MUCH, OF
HIM THEY WILL ASK THE MORE."

FRANKLY, MANY OF US CHRISTIANS, TOO MUCH OF THE
TIME, HAVE BEEN DERELICT IN THAT DUTY.

Hum Rts

LET US TAKE AS AN EXAMPLE THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN
RIGHTS.

Slavery

MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO, OUR ANCESTORS WERE
IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE FIGHT TO PRESERVE SLAVERY.

Seg

MORE RECENTLY, THE CLERGY AND LAY MEMBERS OF OUR
CHURCH WERE RARELY IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE FIGHT TO
END SEGREGATION.

Timid Voice

OUR CHURCH WAS A TIMID VOICE ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

WE WERE LIKE THE BAD STEWARD WHO KNEW HIS
LORD'S WILL AND PREPARED NOT HIMSELF.

*Not learned
lesson*

NOR HAVE WE COMPLETELY LEARNED OUR LESSON,
EVEN YET.

--IN SPITE OF ENCOURAGING . . .

*Too many
silent -
H Rts
broadly
defined*

IN SPITE OF ENCOURAGING TRENDS AS A DENOMINATION,
TOO MANY OF US STILL REMAIN SILENT IN THE WORLDWIDE
STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS -- BROADLY DEFINED --
THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND SPIRIT; FOR AN
END TO HUNGER, ILLITERACY, POVERTY, DISEASE AND
JOBLESSNESS, AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

*Declaration
by convention*

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE ADOPTION THIS WEEK OF
A STRONG DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS MEANS THAT WE ARE
CHANGING.

GREAT

I COMMEND THE CONVENTION FOR THE CALL TO ACTION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS HERE AND ABROAD.

Arns

I HOPE THAT WE, AS SOUTHERN BAPTISTS, WILL FOLLOW
THE EXAMPLE SET BY PAUL CARDINAL ARNS OF BRAZIL, AND
MANY OTHER CHURCH LEADERS AROUND THE WORLD IN THEIR
COURAGEOUS STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

*Concern
→ int mission*

OUR CONCERN MUST ENCOMPASS NOT ONLY OUR OWN
COMMUNITIES AND OUR OWN COUNTRY.

IT MUST BE AS INTERNATIONAL AS OUR MISSION
EFFORT ITSELF.

Holocaust

WE MUST NEVER, AS INDIVIDUALS, AS CHRISTIANS,
OR AS A NATION, TURN OUR BACKS ON HUMAN SUFFERING THE
WAY WE ONCE DID ON THE MILLIONS OF JEWS CAUGHT UP IN
THE HOLOCAUST.

*other inter. ?'s
Peace, freedom,
nukes, arms,
terrorism -*

MANY OTHER DIFFICULT AND CONTROVERSIAL
INTERNATIONAL ISSUES COME TO MY DESK EVERY DAY --
ISSUES THAT I CANNOT AND WOULD NOT AVOID.

THEY ARE QUESTIONS OF WORLD PEACE, LIBERTY,
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, THE ARMS RACE, INTERNATIONAL
LAWLESSNESS, *AND TERRORISM.*

--THESE ARE ALL MORE THAN . . .

7 political probs

THESE ARE ALL MORE THAN ^{Just} POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

moral-
precepts of
faith

THEY ARE MORAL PROBLEMS AS WELL, BECAUSE EACH
INVOLVES ISSUES DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE PRECEPTS OF
OUR RELIGIOUS FAITH.

Niebuhr

I RECOGNIZE THAT, AS REINHOLD NIEBUHR SAID, A
SOCIETY IS LESS LIKELY TO BE MORAL THAN ARE THE PERSONS
WHO COMPRISE IT.

2nd love
for justice

AS INDIVIDUALS, OUR HIGHEST GOAL IS LOVE OF GOD
AND OUR FELLOW MAN.

THE HIGHEST STANDARD POSSIBLE FOR A SOCIETY IS
MORE MODEST -- NOT LOVE, BUT JUSTICE.

Public official
Love
pride,
arrogance

THE PROBLEM FOR SOMEONE IN POLITICAL OFFICE
OR IN A POSITION OF LEADERSHIP IS TO STRIVE NEVERTHELESS
FOR LOVE -- AND TO DO SO WITHOUT ARROGANCE OR
CALLOUSNESS OR COMPLACENCY.

*leader
risks isolation*

A POLITICAL OR OTHER SOCIETAL LEADER RISKS
BECOMING ISOLATED -- FROM THE PEOPLE AND EVEN FROM
THE DAY-TO-DAY REALITY OF ORDINARY LIFE.

OUR TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS, OUR SHOPPING HABITS,
OUR CIRCLE OF FRIENDS ARE NOT THOSE OF TYPICAL
AMERICANS, AND OUR CHILDREN ARE ALMOST ALWAYS PROTECTED
FROM THE HURTS OF POVERTY AND DISCRIMINATION.

THE SYSTEM IS RESPECTFUL OF US AND OUR PATH IS
CONSTANTLY SMOOTHED.

*Hard to remember
poor, helpless
afraid*

IT IS HARD FOR US TO REMEMBER, IF WE EVER KNEW,
WHAT IT MEANS TO BE POOR AND HELPLESS AND AFRAID,
TO FEEL THAT THE SYSTEM ITSELF IS NOT FRIENDLY BUT
HOSTILE.

--A GENUINE AND EXPANSIVE

*Worship
bridges
gap*

A GENUINE AND EXPANSIVE WORSHIP EXPERIENCE CAN
BRIDGE THESE GAPS, AND REMIND US OF THE NEEDS OF THOSE
WHO LOOK TO US FOR LEADERSHIP AND SERVICE.

Timidity

AND WE MUST RESIST STILL ANOTHER TEMPTATION IF
WE ARE TO SUCCEED IN THE TASKS OF RELIGIOUS OR
SECULAR LEADERSHIP -- TIMIDITY.

B Miss difficult

THE OUTCOME OF BOLD MISSIONS ARE MOST OFTEN IN
DOUBT, AND WE KNOW THAT WE CAN AVOID BEING BRANDED
FAILURES IF WE ARE CAREFUL NOT TO TRY TOO HARD OR IF WE
GIVE UP SOON ENOUGH.

*Failure
try hard
give up*

*Risk
failure,
criticism*

BUT WE MUST BE WILLING TO RISK FAILURE -- AND BE
READY TO LIVE WITH THE BITTERNESS OF IT -- IF WE ARE
TO SUCCEED AT ALL.

US Pre eminent

I WANT OUR COUNTRY TO BE PRE-EMINENT IN ALL THE
WORLD -- AND NOT MERELY IN STRENGTH OF ARMS.

*So strong
not prove it*

I WANT US TO BE CONFIDENT ENOUGH IN OUR STRENGTH
THAT WE DO NOT HAVE TO PROVE THAT WE ARE STRONG.

*Gentle, patient
fair, thoughtful
generous*

AS IS THE CASE WITH A STRONG AND CONFIDENT PERSON,
I WANT OUR NATION TO BE GENTLE, AND PATIENT, AND FAIR,
AND THOUGHTFUL AND GENEROUS.

Panama

I AM PROUD TO BE ON MY WAY TO PANAMA, WHERE WE
WILL EXCHANGE RATIFICATION DOCUMENTS ON TREATIES WHICH
SHOW THAT WE ARE CAPABLE OF JUST THOSE QUALITIES.

*Isolation
&
strong*

THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES SHOW THAT WE ARE COMING
TO GRIPS, AS A NATION, WITH CHANGING TIMES AS WELL.

FOR MOST OF OUR HISTORY WE WERE PROTECTED BY
FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS AND WIDE SEAS FROM SERIOUS MILITARY
CHALLENGE.

--NOW OUR SECURITY IS BOUND . . .

Security is other

NOW OUR SECURITY IS BOUND TO THAT OF OTHER
COUNTRIES.

*Ignore - is strong
Dominate - strong*

WE CAN NO LONGER IGNORE OTHERS BECAUSE WE ARE
ISOLATED, NOR DOMINATE OTHERS BECAUSE WE ARE STRONG.

opportunities

new resp. offer

*emotional
spiritual
maturity*

WE ARE CHALLENGED BY NEW RESPONSIBILITIES AND BY
OTHER CENTERS OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER,AND
HOW WELL WE HANDLE THIS NEW REALITY WILL DEPEND ON OUR
EMOTIONAL AND SPIRITUAL MATURITY AS A NATION.

*Power, wealth
not enough*

TO REMAIN A LEADER, IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT WE
ARE POWERFUL AND RICH.

*Analyze
faults*

WE MUST CONTINUE TO ANALYZE OUR FAULTS AND NEEDS
ACCURATELY, SO AS TO CORRECT THOSE FAULTS AND MEET
THOSE CHANGING NEEDS.

Auth for
moral vs mil
humility vs bluster
serve vs dominate

OUR AUTHORITY MUST DERIVE FROM MORAL AS WELL AS
MILITARY LEADERSHIP,....FROM HUMILITY RATHER THAN
BLUSTER,....FROM A DESIRE TO SERVE RATHER THAN TO
DOMINATE.

Person
Conflict god = man
Nation
lost moral
lose influence

JUST AS A ^{PERSON}~~LEADER~~ WHO IS IN CONFLICT WITH GOD
WILL BE IN CONFLICT WITH MAN,....SO A NATION WITHOUT
MORAL PRINCIPLES MUST EVENTUALLY LOSE ITS INFLUENCE
AMONG OTHER NATIONS.

Nations -
inward journey

NATIONS, LIKE MEN AND WOMEN, MUST UNDERTAKE THE
INWARD JOURNEY IF THEY ARE TO SUCCEED IN THE OUTWARD
JOURNEY.

THE LIFE OF MOSES SHOWS US THIS.

BEFORE

Moses
~~AFTER~~ FLEEING EGYPT, HE SPENT 40 YEARS ON THE

JOURNEY INWARD -- TENDING THE SHEEP, MEDITATING, TRYING
TO OVERCOME TIMIDITY AND FEAR, TALKING TO GOD.

WHEN THE TIME CAME FOR HIM TO BEGIN HIS OUTWARD
JOURNEY, MOSES WAS PREPARED.

AND YET STILL, EVEN AS HE STRUGGLED FOR AND WITH
THE ISRAELITES, HE SOUGHT TIME WITH GOD ALONE.

HE FOUND TIME FOR THE PRAYER AND REFLECTION WHICH
COULD HELP HIM THROUGH AN OUTWARD JOURNEY SO FULL OF
STRUGGLE AND UNCERTAINTY.

*Jefferson
cloud / fire*
THOMAS JEFFERSON ONCE PROPOSED THAT THE GREAT
SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES SHOW THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL,
LED BY A CLOUD BY DAY AND A PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT.

--THE GREAT OUTWARD JOURNEY . . .

*Goals -
person, nation*

*Israel, the
inward → outward*

THE GREAT OUTWARD JOURNEY OF THE CHILDREN OF
ISRAEL COULD NOT HAVE SUCCEEDED WITHOUT THE INWARD
JOURNEY.

*Heeds, persons,
nations -*

NEITHER CAN OURS -- AS INDIVIDUALS,AS A
DENOMINATION,OR AS A NATION.

THANK YOU.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JIM FALLOWS, ^{JW} ⁹⁵ GRIFFIN SMITH

SUBJECT: Canal Zone Speech

At the moment you are not scheduled to make any public address in the Canal Zone. We think it is important for you to do so, even though the crowd may be small and certainly will not be sympathetic.

We have prepared the attached draft, which reflects the concerns we feel are uppermost in the minds of Zonians now.

These are the reasons we think you should make a speech in the Zone:

1. It is the responsibility of your office. More than ten thousand Americans live in the Zone, and you should speak to them openly, even if they are unsympathetic to your policy.

2. It is right. Many Zonians may think you are deliberately avoiding them if you spend 95 per cent of your time in Panama, helicopter over to Miraflores, and meet only with pre-selected "safe" Zonians at a luncheon. That can easily be misinterpreted as a lack of courage on your part.

3. It can help. The Zonians feel that their voices have been neglected in a matter that profoundly affects their lives. If they perceive our policy as hostile or indifferent or callous toward them when it is not, then we ought to take this opportunity to correct a needless misunderstanding. There are some very affirmative things you can say.

4. It is an essential balance to your speech to the rally of Panamanians in downtown Panama City. Whatever errors they may have made, the Zonians sincerely believe that they have been upholding American interests in the Zone for the benefit of all of us. There is a degree of humiliation to them if you speak only to a Panamanian crowd, in Spanish, a few hundred yards from the Zone itself. It would be as if a school principal went only to the pep rally for the visiting team. You should spare them that embarrassment by speaking also in the Zone.

PUBLIC ADDRESS IN THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Fellow Americans, good afternoon.

A few months ago, as I was visiting with David McCulloch, the author of THE PATH BETWEEN THE SEAS, I began to sense his enthusiasm for the extraordinary engineering achievement the Panama Canal represents. But not until a few minutes ago, at Miraflores Locks, did I have the chance to experience personally the scope of this accomplishment, and to see first-hand the degree of professionalism and know-how that make this Canal work. If every agency of the Federal government displayed the same combination of talent and efficiency that you do, Washington would be a more successful place.

For many years, the legal arrangements governing the Panama Canal and the Zone have been a source of

contention between the United States and Panama.

Most people who looked at the situation agreed that some change, of some kind, was called for. I think most of you in the Canal Zone agree with that. We disagreed not about whether there should be changes, but about what those changes ought to be.

Sometimes those disagreements have been very strong. I have never failed to respect your opinions and the depth of your convictions. Nevertheless, I am convinced the course I chose was in the highest interest of our country; that the choice that was made was the right one.

I know you have felt you were defending American interests down here, and I respect your spirit and your loyalty to your country even if I do not, in this instance, share your judgment.

The Treaties are now a fact, and I am not here

to justify them, to try to persuade you to change your minds, to argue, or to suggest that if you just understood the Treaties better, you would like them.

You do understand them. You are better informed than most Americans. For you they are not just a foreign policy abstraction, but something that alters your lives in a direct and immediate way. During the Senate debates, I expect the people of the Canal Zone could have supported the transistor radio industry single-handedly.

You know, as I do, that a great deal will change as a result of these Treaties. We can't pretend that the adjustments will be easy.

Some of you will be leaving the only place on earth you have ever called home. That is a hard and painful thing to do. Some of you will be moving the graves of your parents and grandparents so that they

can remain in American cemeteries. In the years to come, you will almost certainly part company with many of your neighbors and closest friends. The Canal Zone is a true community -- yours for many generations -- and the disappointments and uncertainties you now face may at times seem too difficult to bear.

I understand that. I understand, too, that you love this place. That is evident not only from what you say but in what you do -- such as replacing the Royal Palms that line the Prado with new, young trees that are going to live for the better part of another century. In Georgia, when we planted a tree we did so because we felt our own roots were intertwined in the soil where it grew. And the care and affection which you have continued to bestow on the Canal Zone are the clearest possible evidence that the isthmus will spiritually belong to you and your children always.

So I came today not to win you over to my point of view, but because there is one thing I very much want to say:

I came because I care what happens to you.

Americans care what happens to you.

Some of you may have begun to doubt that. In the millions of words spoken and written about the Treaties, that one simple truth appears to have gotten lost in the shuffle.

I am concerned that our government may have left the impression that we are casting you adrift, unmindful of the work you have done and indifferent to your well-being. The most important thing I can tell you today is that this is not so. I regret it has too often seemed that way.

A few subordinate American officials, in trying to advance what they quite correctly consider to be our country's fundamental interests in Latin America, have sometimes appeared to cast you in the role of the "enemy."

You are not the "enemy." You are us, whether we agree or disagree, and your country and your government will honor its solemn obligation to you.

That obligation includes but is not limited to taking account of the problems and needs that concern you -- 00000 individuals -- as a result of the changes in your lives the transfer of the Canal will cause.

We have tried to fulfill this obligation in the Treaties as well as in the separate agreements and annexes. We will continue to do so in the enabling legislation. To the limit of our ability in an international agreement, our negotiations with Panama have sought to secure your rights and your welfare and your safety and your peace of mind.

For example, we have tried to preserve during the transitional period as many as possible of the civil liberties that Americans cherish. The Agreements implementing Articles II and IV of the Panama Canal Treaty set forth the terms of criminal jurisdiction and procedural guarantees in elaborate detail.

These are exceptional statements that reflect the deepest values we hold as a free people.. They take account of your needs. We regard them as a fundamental part of our agreement with Panama -- not as mere window-dressing.

To ensure that they will be respected, I have done two things:

First, I made a point of reminding General Torrijos yesterday of the importance we attach to them. The General understands that we want to enter upon a new era of harmonious cooperation and good will between the people of Panama and the Americans associated with the Canal, and that there is no room for vindictiveness or bad faith in that relationship. It requires a hospitable and cordial attitude not only on your part, but on Panama's as well. We expect Panama to show strict regard for all its responsibilities toward you.

Second, to make sure that your voice is heard in the future, I am appointing an ombudsman, or special representative, whose function will be to assist any Americans associated with the Canal who feel that their rights under the new Treaty are being infringed in any way. This officer will be in the Department of Justice, unconnected in any way with the new Panama Canal Commission. He will be authorized to investigate all alleged violations and when necessary, speak on your behalf.7

We have also tried to carry out our obligation to you by ensuring that the terms and conditions of your employment will generally stay the same when the Treaty goes into effect. We know that the circumstances under which you work matter a great deal, as do good schools, medical care, and other services. These have not been neglected in the negotiations.

According to the Treaties, the Canal will increasingly be a place of Panamanian employment. Some of you will leave very soon; others can remain longer. I hope that all of you will help make this transition as smooth as possible.

I would like to say a few words to those of you whose jobs will be preserved and who are eligible to stay. Many of you are skeptical about your future here. I would not ask you to stay and be unhappy. I would ask you -- and I am asking you -- to give the new arrangement a fair chance. Approach it with an open mind.

We do need your skills, but that is not the only thing I am thinking of. I know that you are not like those Americans who live in Europe, in Asia or elsewhere in Latin America. By living in the Canal Zone, you have had the advantages of an American social environment and the benefits of American law. You may not want

to give these up. There is nothing wrong with feeling that way. But you may find that the changes here will not turn out to be as unsatisfactory as you imagine.

If, after giving things a fair chance, you are convinced that you and your family simply cannot lead the life you want here, the American government will give you unstinting support in your decision to relocate to the United States. We don't want to keep you here against your will or hold you hostage. We are trying -- and we hope you will help us succeed -- to bring about a successful new chapter in the history of the Canal that you have loved and benefitted for so long.

To all of you who live and work here in the Panama Canal Zone, your fellow Americans owe a continuing debt of gratitude. You have brought credit to yourselves and your country by operating the Canal efficiently, honestly, and honorably for the benefit of all nations.

The time when this was America's job alone is now coming to an end. The Treaties reflect that time and in so doing, they help guarantee that rest of the world will recognize our essential fairness and decency as a people.

Ultimately the success of the Treaties will depend on the ability and resourcefulness of the people of Panama, and upon their government's good faith in carrying out its responsibilities -- to the users of the Canal, to our country, and to you. I know that someday they will join us in looking back, with admiration and respect, at the dedication and devotion of the thousands of Americans who made the Canal one of the supreme human achievements of all time.

#

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3675

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1978

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GDS

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY OWEN *HO*
SUBJECT: Energy and the Summit

Henry
C
See Stu's memo

1. Attached are:

a. A joint memo from Cy Vance, Mike Blumenthal, Jim Schlesinger, Stu Eizenstat, Frank Moore, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and me (Tab A), recommending that you meet with Congressional leaders next week to discuss what you will say about energy at the Summit.

b. A memo from Stu (Tab B) agreeing with this recommendation, indicating that we may need to review what we can say about energy in light of this Congressional meeting, and making suggestions about what you might say in the meeting.

2. Before you meet with the Congressional leaders I will submit talking points that reflect the suggestions in Stu's memo, as well as the views of others.

3. Stu and I hope that you will, before leaving for Panama, approve the recommendation in the attached joint memo authorizing Frank Moore to set up the meeting with Congressional leaders. Stu just phoned to say that if we don't do this right away, our prospects for success on the energy front will slip.

DECLASSIFIED

Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-13-6-1-0

BY 123 NARA DATE 4/18/13

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GDS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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for Preservation Purposes

A

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3656

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GDS

June 14, 1978

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Cyrus Vance *CV (approved before leaving the country)*
W. Michael Blumenthal *(approved before leaving the country)*
James Schlesinger
Charlie Schultze *CS*
Stu Eizenstat *Stu*
Frank Moore *F.M.*
Zbigniew Brzezinski *ZB*
Henry Owen *HO*

DECLASSIFIED

Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-13-6-1-0

BY JKS NARA DATE 4/8/13

SUBJECT:

Congressional Consultation
About Summit Energy Policy

1. This memorandum recommends that you consult with key Congressional leaders about the handling of US energy policy at the Summit.

2. Schmidt, Callaghan, and Fukuda have made clear that what we say on this issue will clearly determine whether we can get other countries' growth and trade pledges at the Summit. The fundamental commitment they want from us is that we will take bold action to limit oil imports.

3. We believe allied concerns would be met if you said at the Summit that:

-- it is your objective to raise the average US oil price paid by the users to the world level by 1980;

-- to achieve this objective you are pressing for legislation, which would be the most desirable outcome;

-- if legislation has not been enacted by the end of 1978 you will use the administrative powers at your disposal to achieve this same constraining effect on US oil imports, in ways consistent with your other relevant goals.

Such a pledge would leave you free to choose among the different forms of administrative action open to you.

4. If you are to make such a statement at the Summit, you will wish to consult Congressional leaders beforehand. It would be useful to consult as soon as possible, so that the results can

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CONFIDENTIAL GDS

2

be taken into account in pre-Summit planning. The best time for such consultation would be next week, when Cy Vance and Mike Blumenthal will have returned from the OECD Ministerial Meeting, and can report first hand on relevant foreign attitudes. We will supply talking points before the meeting.

The members to be consulted would be Senators Baker, Bellmon, Bentsen, Byrd, Jackson, and Long: and Congressmen Anderson, Ashley, Dingell, O'Neill, Staggers, and Ullman.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Frank Moore to invite the members listed above to a meeting with you next week.

✓

Approve

Disapprove

J

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CONFIDENTIAL GDS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT
KITTY SCHIRMER



SUBJECT: SUPPLEMENTARY COMMENTS ON VANCE ET AL
MEMO RE CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATION ON
SUMMIT ENERGY POLICY

In general, we agree with the recommendations made in the memorandum from Vance and others concerning the Congressional consultation on the energy statement proposed for the Summit. We have two areas of concern which are not entirely clear in the joint memo, however.

Congressional Consultation

The statement which the Vance memo recommends that you make at the Summit could have very substantial impacts on the remaining negotiations on the National Energy Plan. It is crucial that the consultation session go well beyond just a "this is what I would like to do" kind of meeting. We should work hard to obtain as careful and searching a judgment as possible from each of the Members invited on how such a statement would affect the first four parts of the NEP and also the tax-related negotiations.

We should recognize in advance that we may face a difficult choice between a statement which is most effective from a Summit standpoint, and a statement which minimizes adverse impacts on chances of legislative action. We may well want to modify the formulation of the Summit statement presented in the Vance memo to avoid jeopardizing COET or other parts of the NEP.

Specific Comments on the Proposed Summit Statement

Item three of the Vance memo outlines a proposed approach to energy policy for the Summit. In general, this reflects a consensus reached at a meeting on the subject. We recommend that the formulation presented in the Vance memo be changed in two respects:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-13-6-1-0

BY KS NARA DATE 4/18/13

1. The first bullet states, "it is your object to raise the average U. S. oil price...to the world level by 1980." This should be changed to make clear that our target date is the end of 1980. The most recent formulations of COET discussed with the Congress would not achieve the world price until the end of 1980 or perhaps even January 1981.

2. The third bullet phrases your pledge to act administratively more bluntly than may be necessary to accomplish the desired effect at the Summit. We would recommend rephrasing it as follows:

-- if legislation has not been enacted by the end of 1978 you will still have a range of administrative powers which you are prepared to use to accomplish the same constraining effect on oil imports.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1978

C

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HUGH CARTER ^{WC}

SUBJECT: Weekly Mail Report (Per Your Request)

Below are statistics on Presidential and First Family:

<u>INCOMING</u>	<u>WEEK ENDING 6/9</u>	<u>WEEK ENDING 6/16</u>
Presidential	19,270	19,705
First Lady	1,655*	1,485
Amy	240	250
<u>Other First Family</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>50</u>
TOTAL	21,210	21,490

BACKLOG

Presidential	2,035	2,490
First Lady	110	140
Amy	0	0
<u>Other</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL	2,145	2,630

DISTRIBUTION OF PRESIDENTIAL MAIL ANALYZED

Agency Referrals	9%	10%
WH Correspondence	50%	45%
Unanswerable Mail	19%	18%
White House Staff	4%	5%
<u>Other</u>	<u>18%</u>	<u>22%</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%

NOT INCLUDED ABOVE

Form Letters	362	0
Form Post Cards	6,625	3,850
Mail Addressed to White House Staff	14,682	15,587

cc: Senior Staff

*Not Included Above: IWY Propaganda--90 W/E 6/9

MAJOR ISSUES IN
CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL ADULT MAIL
Week Ending 6/16/78

ISSUES	PRO	CON	COMMENT ONLY	NUMBER OF LETTERS
Support for Increased Imports of Beef	3%	97%	0	479
Proposed Amendment S.2899 to Endangered Species Act	2%	98%	0	223
Proposed Work Week Reduction for Federal Fire Fighters HR3161 (1)	99%	1%	0	204
Support for Labor Law Reform Legislation	1%	99%	0	197
Suggestions re: Tax Reform Package	0	0	100%	176
Support for Proposed Middle East Aircraft Sale	4%	88%	8%	142
Support for Protest against Cambodian Abuses	100%	0	0	<u>142</u>
			TOTAL	1,385

(1) PROPOSED LEGISLATION RE: FIRE FIGHTERS (99% Pro)

Federal fire fighters urge the President to favor this reduction of their hours, as it would enable them to see more of their families, and the government could benefit from the elimination of their overtime.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Susan—

~~This was in RSC's
outgoing mail.~~

Carol

Rick -

from Panama rail

- Susan

MTN - GATT Col/Ven
IDB - WB
NAM

Prices - sugar - coffee
Paris failure → frustration
Com fund - multilat inst
reform
LDC's borrow to grow →
debt trap

Comprehensive:

- 1) Terms of trade
Common fund
- 2) Xfer of resources
- 3) Reform IMF, etc
- 4) Debt

Rhetoric → practicalities
Geneva

Bonn/7 → UNCTAD/9

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1978

To Senator Strom Thurmond

Thank you for your letter of June 13 concerning the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification relating to the Panama Canal Treaties in Panama Friday.

While I fully understand your concern that Panama's Foreign Ministry Communique and its Instrument of Ratification not circumvent the letter and the spirit of the Senate's Treaty, I want to reassure you that you need have no fears on that score.

The Communique is a non-binding commentary by the Panamanian government. Although it clearly expresses concern with certain reservations, notably DeConcini's and Nunn's, it does not repudiate or reject anything in the Treaty.

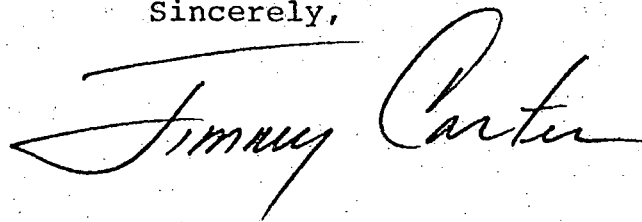
As for Panama's Instrument of Ratification, it contains two understandings and a declaration. The first Panamanian understanding reaffirms the commitments of both countries to certain provisions concerning non-intervention contained in the United Nations and Organization of American States charters. The second provides that any action to maintain the Neutrality Treaty be taken in a manner consistent with the "principles of mutual respect and cooperation." The declaration states that Panama's independence is "guaranteed by the unshakeable will of the Panamanian people," who will reject any attempt at intervening in their internal affairs. The entire instrument has been reviewed and accepted by the Senate leadership, and I do not think it poses any problems for us.

Most important, however, is that in the act of signing the Protocol of Exchange, both governments formally accept all the amendments and reservations in the Senate's Resolutions of Ratification. I have asked the State Department to be sure that this point is clearly made in our public statements concerning the signing of the Protocol.

We briefed the press on the ratification documents today, and the documents themselves will be made public tomorrow. This is in accordance with a schedule we have arranged with the Panamanians, and I am sure that you will appreciate the difficulty of coordinating a change in schedules now. Our two governments must both concern themselves with obtaining maximum domestic understanding of the significance of the act that will take place in Panama on Friday.

I appreciate your frankness and the depth of your concern. The act that will occur on Friday is an important step in affirming Panamanian and U.S. acceptance of the Treaties. Together with my discussions with General Torrijos and the other chiefs of state who will be attending the ceremony, it will provide an opportunity for us all to clarify our respective obligations in this matter and to begin planning the steps necessary for implementation.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Strom Thurmond
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

60-12-14 Ratification of Panama Canal Treaties

3664 Add-on

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6-14-78

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB.*
SUBJECT: Response to Senator Thurmond's Letter

We have drafted a letter to Senator Thurmond along the lines of the memorandum which I gave to you this morning. Jim Fallows has cleared it.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

☒ APPROVE

☐ DISAPPROVE

J

RECEIVED

SEP 16 1980

CENTRAL FILES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Prepare nice
reply to th-
based on your
memo - LMS
6-15 J
78*

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *JB*
SUBJECT: Response to Thurmond's Fears

On the eve of your trip, Thurmond's "sense of apprehension" is predictable, but not justified by the facts.

He is concerned that Panama's Foreign Ministry Communique and its instrument of ratification circumvent the letter and the spirit of the Senate's Treaty. This is not true.

First of all, the Communique is a statement of the government, but not legally binding like a treaty. Secondly, while it clearly expresses concern with certain reservations -- notably DeConcini and Nunn -- it does not repudiate or reject anything in the Treaty.

With regard to Panama's instrument of ratification, it contains two understandings and a declaration. The first Panamanian understanding reaffirms the commitments of both countries to certain provisions regarding non-intervention contained in the UN and O.A.S. charters. The second provides that action to maintain the Neutrality Treaty be done in a manner consistent with the "principles of mutual respect and cooperation."

The declaration states that Panama's independence is "guaranteed by the unshakeable will of the Panamanian people," who will reject any attempt at intervening in their internal affairs. We do not have any problems with these, and State has reviewed them with the Senate leadership, who also accepts them.

Thurmond makes three requests:

(1) That you make the instruments of ratification public immediately. Warren Christopher will brief the press on the documents at 11:30 tomorrow, but we intended to keep an embargo on the documents until the Friday ceremony, and the Panamanians prefer it like that. If you decide to release them immediately, we need to coordinate it with the Panamanians first, and they may be a little suspicious of our trying to move the timing forward. If we release the documents immediately, it is likely

to generate some controversy in the U.S. and Panama and provide more time for the opposition to try to halt the trip.

Should we release them on Thursday after consulting with the Panamanians?

Yes _____

No ✓

Or on Friday?

Yes ✓

No _____

(2) That you refuse to sign the documents "without ironclad and public assurances from Panama that they have fully embraced" the Senate's treaties. Thurmond evidently is unaware that in the act of signing of the Protocol of exchange by you and Torrijos, he formally accepts all the amendments and reservations in the Senate's treaties.

(3) That you inform the American people of Panama's assurances. If you think this request is necessary, we could just include a brief reference in your ratification ceremony statement that the exchange of instruments and the signing of the Protocol signifies Panama's full acceptance of the Senate's treaty and our full acceptance of Panama's treaty. Should we include such a reference?

Yes _____

No _____

*Let State
do this -
speaking for me.*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

There was no memo to ZB -- just a forwarding note. A copy was sent to Madeleine Albright. The original noted memo from ZB to the President is attached.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 15, 1978

TO: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
FROM: ROBERT PASTOR *RP*

The attached was prepared in response to the President's note on your memo to him which he saw this morning.

JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS., CHAIRMAN

HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.
HARRY F. BYRD, JR., VA.
SAM NUNN, GA.
JOHN C. CULVER, IOWA
GARY HART, COLO.
ROBERT MORGAN, N.C.
WENDELL R. ANDERSON, MINN.
PAUL HATFIELD, MONT.

JOHN TOWER, TEX.
STROM THURMOND, S.C.
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.
WILLIAM L. SCOTT, VA.
DEWEY F. BARTLETT, OKLA.
JESSE HELMS, N.C.
JAKE GARN, UTAH

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 13, 1978

FRANCIS J. SULLIVAN, STAFF DIRECTOR

*3619
Comment
tomorrow
J*

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, many of us in the Senate share a sense of apprehension relative to the adverse impacts on our country in connection with the proposed exchange of the instruments of ratification and protocol of exchange relating to the Panama Canal Treaties in Panama Friday.

The State Department has defended the language used in these documents on the grounds the Senate leadership has been briefed and has accepted the instruments as written.

I am personally concerned that the Panamanian instrument of ratification may be designed to avoid not only the letter, but the spirit of the changes made by the Senate, or leaves an opening for future actions by Panama to escape the changes adopted by the Senate.

Especially troublesome is the Foreign Ministry Communique of Panama issued in April which repudiates practically all substantive changes made by the Senate. This document and the Panamanian instrument of ratification could lay the groundwork for Panama to flaunt the Treaties once Panama becomes sovereign in the Panama Canal Zone in the next year or so.

In this connection, I would urge that you make public immediately the texts of the five documents to be signed in Panama this weekend. The members of the Senate and the American people are entitled to know the contents of these documents prior to the signing ceremonies.

Further, I would urge you not sign these documents without ironclad and public assurances from Panama that they have fully embraced the changes made in the Treaties by the United States Senate. If Panama is unwilling to give such assurances in a public and explicit way, it would be a grave mistake to affix your signature as President to these documents.

Finally, assuming you are satisfied that Panama's acceptance of the amended Treaties is unequivocal and without qualification, I would advise that you so inform the American people immediately so that there may be a public record to that effect. Such a step would be of great value in any future disputes which are likely to grow out of the many ambiguities in the Treaties. Your careful consideration of the issues raised in this letter will be deeply appreciated by me, as well as other members of the Senate. With kind regards,

Respectfully,

Strom Thurmond

Strom Thurmond

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

UC S TS SN CO

Log in & Out ()

TO: ZBFROM: PastorDATE: 6/14Other: Thurmond, Strom 6/13SUBJECT: Ponemon

(CO)

Expanded Subject (If needed)

Response to Senator Thurmond

	Action	Comments	Info	Rec'd	Action Required:
Advance Cx ZB/Aaron					Prepare memo for President. . . . ()
Staff Secretary					Prepare memo for Brzezinski, . . . ()
Western Europe/Canada					Prepare reply for . . . ()
USSR/Eastern Europe					Prepare memo . . . to . . . ()
Far East					Prepare SP. ()
PRC & ROC					Recommendations ()
Mid-East/No. Africa					Concurrence/Comments ()
N/S Issues: Gen/Afr/S.Asia					Appropriate Action. ()
N/S: Latin America					Any Action Necessary ()
N/S: UN/LOS/et al					
N/S: Dev Economics					
Horn of Africa/Special					
Global Issues					
Security Analysis					
Economics					
Intelligence					
Congressional/Press					
Scientific					
Crisis Management					
Huntington					
DDP					

Due Date: _____

COMMENTS:

Date	To	Sta	Action Required or Taken (Updates)	Due	Copy(s) to
6/14	ZB	X	Send to Pres for decision		
6/15	Pres	P	for decision		
6/15	—	—	Pres approved #2 / disapproval #1		
6/15	Pastor	S	further action (6/20)		
6/15	ZB	X	Out to Pres for Sig		
6/16		C	Pres go ltr to Thurmond		

Dispatch/Instructions

SAK 6/16

M/F'd

By

Filed: SA WH NS DY

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
PUBLIC ADDRESS IN PANAMA CANAL ZONE
JUNE 17, 1978

PUBLIC ADDRESS -- 1

A FEW MONTHS AGO, AS I WAS VISITING WITH DAVID McCULLOUGH,...
THE AUTHOR OF "THE PATH BETWEEN THE SEAS",.....I BEGAN TO SENSE HIS
ENTHUSIASM FOR THE EXTRAORDINARY ENGINEERING ACHIEVEMENT THE PANAMA
CANAL REPRESENTS.

I HAVE BEEN LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS CHANCE TO VISIT FORT CLAYTON
AND MIRAFLORES LOCKS SO I COULD SEE FIRST-HAND THE PROFESSIONALISM AND
DEDICATION THAT MAKE THIS CANAL WORK AND KEEP IT SECURE.

(--OVER--) I AM VERY PROUD OF.....)

2

I AM VERY PROUD OF THOSE OF YOU WHO BELONG TO THE VARIOUS MILITARY
COMPONENTS OF THE SOUTHERN COMMAND.

THROUGH A LONG AND DIFFICULT PERIOD, YOU HAVE MAINTAINED AT A
VERY HIGH LEVEL YOUR PREPAREDNESS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE CANAL AND FOR
THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN LIVES AND PROPERTY.

(--NEW PAGE--)

(IT IS YOUR EFFORT AND YOUR.....)

IT IS YOUR EFFORT AND YOUR TRAINING THAT HAVE KEPT AMERICANS
ASSURED OF OUR STRENGTH AND SECURITY HERE.

THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE CIVILIANS -- BOTH AMERICANS AND PANAMANIAN --
HAVE CONTRIBUTED IMMEASURABLY TO THE OPERATION OF THE CANAL.

MY LIFE WOULD BE EASIER IF EVERY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE SHOWED THE SAME
CONSISTENT COMBINATION OF EFFICIENCY AND TALENT AS YOUR GROUP DOES.

(--OVER--)(YOU ALWAYS DO YOUR JOB,.....)

YOU ALWAYS DO YOUR JOB,.....AND YOU DO IT WELL.

FOR MANY YEARS, THE LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS GOVERNING THE PANAMA CANAL
AND THE ZONE HAVE BEEN A SOURCE OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND PANAMA.

MOST PEOPLE WHO LOOKED AT THE SITUATION AGREED THAT SOME CHANGE,
OF SOME KIND, WAS CALLED FOR.

(--NEW PAGE--)(I THINK MOST OF YOU WHO LIVE.....)

5

I THINK MOST OF YOU WHO LIVE IN THE CANAL ZONE AGREE WITH THAT.

WE DISAGREED NOT ABOUT WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE CHANGES,.....

BUT WHAT THOSE CHANGES OUGHT TO BE.

I KNOW EACH OF YOU HAS KNOWN YOU WERE DEFENDING AMERICAN INTERESTS
HERE, AND I RESPECT YOUR CONVICTIONS AND YOUR SPIRIT AND YOUR LOYALTY
TO YOUR COUNTRY EVEN THOUGH WE DID NOT ALWAYS AGREE ABOUT THE BEST
COURSE TO TAKE.

(--OVER--)(THE SENATE HAS ACTED.....)

6

THE SENATE HAS ACTED, AND THE TREATIES ARE NOW A FACT.

I AM NOT HERE TO JUSTIFY THEM,....OR TO SUGGEST THAT IF YOU JUST
UNDERSTOOD THE TREATIES BETTER, YOU WOULD LIKE THEM.

I KNOW THAT YOU DO UNDERSTAND THEM, BECAUSE FOR YOU THEY ARE NOT
JUST A DISTANT AND IMPERSONAL FOREIGN POLICY ABSTRACTION,.....BUT
SOMETHING THAT ALTERS YOUR LIVES IN A DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE WAY.

(--NEW PAGE--)(YOU KNOW, AS I DO,.....)

YOU KNOW, AS I DO, THAT A GREAT DEAL WILL CHANGE AS A RESULT OF
THESE TREATIES.

A FEW OF YOU WILL BE LEAVING THE ONLY PLACE ON EARTH YOU HAVE
EVER CALLED HOME.

THAT IS A HARD AND PAINFUL THING TO DO.

THE ADJUSTMENTS AND UNCERTAINTIES YOU NOW FACE WILL NOT BE EASY.

I UNDERSTAND THAT.

I UNDERSTAND, TOO, WHY YOU LOVE THIS PLACE.

(SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO,)

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, AMERICANS CAME HERE AS BUILDERS.

IN QUIET WAYS, WE HAVE BEEN BUILDERS EVER SINCE.

FOR ALL THE REST OF YOUR LIVES, EVERY ONE OF YOU WILL BE PROUD TO
HAVE BEEN PART OF THIS CANAL, PROUD OF WHAT YOU HAVE BUILT AND
PROTECTED AND LOVED.

THAT IS EVIDENT NOT ONLY FROM WHAT YOU SAY BUT IN WHAT YOU DO.

(--NEW PAGE--)(THE CARE AND AFFECTION)

THE CARE AND AFFECTION WHICH YOU CONTINUE TO SHOW IN THE OPERATION OF THE CANAL IS CLEAR EVIDENCE OF THE DEEP FEELING WHICH YOU AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE FOR THE CANAL.

SO I CAME HERE TODAY NOT TO WIN YOU OVER TO THE DECISION MADE BY ME AND THE CONGRESS, BUT BECAUSE THERE ARE TWO THINGS I VERY MUCH WANT TO SAY:

-- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND I APPRECIATE WHAT YOU ARE DOING HERE.

-- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND I CARE WHAT HAPPENS TO YOU.

(--OVER--)(IN THE MILLIONS OF WORDS)

IN THE MILLIONS OF WORDS SPOKEN AND WRITTEN ABOUT THE TREATIES, OUR APPRECIATION AND CONCERN HAVE NOT BEEN CLEARLY EXPRESSED.

WE HAVE TRIED TO DEMONSTRATE THESE SENTIMENTS IN THE TREATIES AS WELL AS IN THE SEPARATE AGREEMENTS AND ANNEXES.

THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN WORKERS WILL BE PROTECTED.

THE TREATIES GUARANTEE TO EMPLOYEES:

(--NEW PAGE--)(IN GENERAL, TERMS AND.....)

--IN GENERAL, TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYEE WHICH ARE NO LESS FAVORABLE THAN THEY ARE NOW;

-- THE RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING;

-- OPTIONAL EARLY RETIREMENT.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL BE RESPONSIBLE TO YOU FOR IMPLEMENTING THE TREATY PROVISIONS FULLY AND FAIRLY.

(--OVER--)(WE WILL CONTINUE DO SO IN.....)

WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO IN THE ENABLING LEGISLATION.

WE WILL SEE THAT IT ENSURES GOVERNMENT-WIDE JOB PLACEMENT, AND LIBERALIZED RETIREMENT BENEFITS.

TO THE LIMIT OF OUR ABILITY IN AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH PANAMA HAVE SOUGHT TO SECURE YOUR RIGHTS AND YOUR WELFARE AND YOUR SAFETY AND YOUR PEACE OF MIND.

(--NEW PAGE--)(FOR EXAMPLE,)

FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE TRIED TO PRESERVE DURING THE LIFE OF THE
TREATY AS MANY AS POSSIBLE OF THE CIVIL LIBERTIES THAT AMERICANS CHERISH.

TO ENSURE THAT THEY WILL BE RESPECTED, I DISCUSSED THEM WITH THE
PANAMANIAN OFFICIALS YESTERDAY, AND TOLD THEM OF THE IMPORTANCE WE
ATTACH TO THESE RIGHTS.

(--OVER--)(EVERYONE UNDERSTANDS THAT WE.....)

EVERYONE UNDERSTANDS THAT WE WANT TO ENTER UPON A NEW ERA OF
HARMONIOUS COOPERATION AND GOODWILL BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA AND
THE AMERICANS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CANAL,.....AND THAT THERE IS NO ROOM
FOR BAD FAITH IN THAT RELATIONSHIP.

IT REQUIRES A HOSPITABLE AND CORDIAL ATTITUDE NOT ONLY ON OUR PART,
BUT ON PANAMA'S AS WELL..

WE KNOW THAT PANAMA WILL SHOW STRICT REGARD FOR ALL ITS
RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD YOU.

(--NEW PAGE--)(WE HAVE ALSO TRIED.....)

WE HAVE ALSO TRIED TO CARRY OUT OUR OBLIGATION TO YOU BY ENSURING THAT THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF YOUR EMPLOYMENT WILL GENERALLY STAY THE SAME WHEN THE TREATY GOES INTO EFFECT.

WE KNOW THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH YOU WORK MATTER A GREAT DEAL, AS DO GOOD SCHOOLS, MEDICAL CARE, AND OTHER SERVICES.

THESE HAVE NOT BEEN NEGLECTED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

(--OVER--)(ACCORDING TO THE TREATIES.....)

16

ACCORDING TO THE TREATIES, THE CANAL WILL INCREASINGLY BE A PLACE OF PANAMANIAN EMPLOYMENT.

SOME OF YOU WILL LEAVE VERY SOON;.....OTHERS CAN REMAIN LONGER.

I AM RELYING ON ALL OF YOU TO HELP MAKE THIS TRANSITION AS SMOOTH AS POSSIBLE.

THAT IS YOUR DUTY,.....AND THE PEOPLE OF BOTH NATIONS EXPECT NOTHING LESS.

(--NEW PAGE--)(WE ARE TRYING,.....)

WE ARE TRYING -- AND WE HOPE YOU WILL HELP US SUCCEED --
TO BRING ABOUT A SUCCESSFUL NEW CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE CANAL
THAT YOU HAVE MANAGED AND CARED FOR SO LONG.

YOU HAVE BROUGHT CREDIT TO YOURSELVES AND YOUR COUNTRY BY
OPERATING THE CANAL EFFICIENTLY, HONESTLY, AND HONORABLY FOR THE
BENEFIT OF ALL NATIONS.

(--OVER--)(THE TIME WHEN THIS WAS.....)

THE TIME WHEN THIS WAS AMERICA'S JOB ALONE IS NOW COMING TO AN
END.

THE TREATIES REFLECT THAT TIME,.....AND IN SO DOING, THEY HELP
GUARANTEE THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD WILL RECOGNIZE OUR ESSENTIAL
FAIRNESS AND DECENCY AS A PEOPLE.

THE FUTURE OF THIS WATERWAY WILL DEPEND ON THE COOPERATION
AND UNDERSTANDING OF BOTH PANAMANIAN AND AMERICANS.

(--NEW PAGE--)(I KNOW THAT SOMEDAY,.....)

I KNOW THAT SOMEDAY WE WILL JOIN IN LOOKING BACK,.....
WITH ADMIRATION AND RESPECT,.....AT THE DEDICATION AND DEVOTION
OF THE THOUSANDS OF EMPLOYEES -- AMERICAN AND PANAMANIAN -- WHO
MADE AND CONTINUE TO MAKE THE CANAL ONE OF THE SUPREME HUMAN
ACHIEVEMENTS OF ALL TIME.

#

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
DEPARTURE STATEMENT AT TOCUMEN AIRPORT

MY STAY IN PANAMA HAS BEEN BRIEF.
BUT THE PAST TWO DAYS HAVE BEEN FULL OF PROMISE.

(-- OVER --)
(WE HAVE OPENED A NEW...)

2

WE HAVE OPENED A NEW ERA OF PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND PANAMA.

WE HAVE PUT THE SEAL ON AGREEMENTS THAT WERE A DECADE
AND A HALF IN THE MAKING -- AGREEMENTS THAT ELIMINATE THE
INJUSTICES OF THE PAST AND ESTABLISH THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE
PANAMA CANAL TO CONTINUE SERVING WORLD COMMERCE FOR
GENERATIONS TO COME.

(-- NEW PAGE --)
(I DEEPLY APPRECIATE...)

I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE WARM HOSPITALITY OF OUR
PANAMANIAN HOSTS.

GENERAL TORRIJOS, PRESIDENT LAKAS, AND THE PANAMANIAN
PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN US EVERY COURTESY.

THE SINCERE GOOD WILL WHICH WE HAVE FELT HERE GIVES
PROMISE THAT THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN PANAMA AND THE UNITED
STATES UNDER THE NEW TREATIES WILL BE A COOPERATIVE AND
PRODUCTIVE ONE.

(-- OVER --)
(THE EVENTS OF THE....)

THE EVENTS OF THE PAST TWO DAYS SHOULD MAKE ALL OF
MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN PROUD:

-- PROUD THAT WE HAVE DEALT FAIRLY WITH A LOYAL FRIEND.

(-- NEW PAGE --)

(PROUD, ONCE AGAIN....)

-- PROUD, ONCE AGAIN, OF THE ROLE OUR COUNTRY HAS
PLAYED IN DEVELOPING THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC UTILITY
THAT IS THE PANAMA CANAL.

-- PROUD THAT IN COOPERATION WITH PANAMA WE HAVE SET
AN EXAMPLE OF HOW NATIONS CAN SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES
PEACEFULLY AND IN A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL RESPECT.

(-- OVER --)

THESE TWO DAYS HAVE ALSO BEEN OF DEEP SIGNIFICANCE
FOR THE HEMISPHERE AS A WHOLE.

THE PRESENCE HERE IN PANAMA OF LEADERS FROM LATIN
AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN DEMOCRACIES UNDERSCORES OUR SHARED
COMMITMENT TO COOPERATION AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE
AMERICAS ON THE BASIS OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY.

(-- NEW PAGE --)

(IN THE YEARS TO COME...)

IN THE YEARS TO COME WE WILL WORK TOGETHER TO CARRY OUT
THAT COMMITMENT, AND, THROUGH IT, TO FOSTER THE ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLE AND ADVANCE THE CAUSE
OF DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

END OF TEXT

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
RATIFICATION CEREMONY STATEMENT 3:43 p.m.
June 16, 1978

ok
J

GENERAL TORRIJOS, PRESIDENT LAKAS, PRESIDENT PEREZ,
PRESIDENT LOPEZ MICHELSEN, PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO,
PRESIDENT CARAZO, PRIME MINISTER MANLEY, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS,
AND FRIENDS --

(-OVER-)

(I WANT TO THANK . . .)

2

I WANT TO THANK GENERAL TORRIJOS AND PRESIDENT LAKAS
FOR THEIR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS CEREMONY.

I ACCEPTED IT BECAUSE I WANT TO DRAMATIZE MY APPRECIATION
FOR THIS ACHIEVEMENT -- A FIRMER, MORE PRODUCTIVE FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA, AND, MORE BROADLY,
A GAIN FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND COOPERATION AMONG ALL NATIONS.

(-NEW PAGE-)

(WE ARE HONORED BY.....)

WE ARE HONORED BY THE PRESENCE OF THE LEADERS OF THE FIVE
DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES WHO GAVE ENCOURAGEMENT AND ADVICE TO BOTH
SIDES DURING THE FINAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

(-OVER-) (I AM GRATEFUL TO THEM....)

I AM GRATEFUL TO THEM -- NOT ONLY FOR THE SERIOUS AND HELPFUL
ROLE THEY PLAYED IN THOSE DAYS, BUT ALSO FOR THEIR CONTINUING
LEADERSHIP IN DEALING WITH SUCH CRUCIAL MATTERS AS WORLD PEACE,
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, THE STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS, AND BETTER RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE
DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

(-NEW PAGE-) (IT IS NOW THREE-QUARTERS.)

5

IT IS NOW THREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY SINCE THE FIRST SPADE
OF EARTH WAS TURNUED IN THE BUILDING OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

THIS "PATH BETWEEN THE SEAS" REMAINS ONE OF THE GREATEST AND
MOST BENEVOLENT CREATIONS EVER WROUGHT BY HUMAN LABOR AND HUMAN
INGENUITY.

(-OVER-) (AS A NEUTRAL ARTERY.....)

6

AS A NEUTRAL ARTERY FOR THE SHIPS OF ALL NATIONS, THE CANAL
HAS CONTRIBUTED IMMENSELY TO THE PEACEFUL WORK OF THE WORLD.

THE TREATIES WE SOLEMNIZE TODAY WILL HELP PERPETUATE
THAT PEACEFUL WORK FOR MANY GENERATIONS TO COME.

(-NEW PAGE-) (UNDER THE TREATIES.....)

UNDER THE TREATIES, OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AGREE TO MAINTAIN
THE NEUTRALITY AND SECURITY OF THE CANAL.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE REAFFIRMED OUR COMMITMENT TO HONOR
NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION, WHICH
IS ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES
AND THE UNITED NATIONS.

(-OVER-) (DURING THE LONG . . .)

DURING THE LONG NEGOTIATIONS, BOTH SIDES HELD TO A VISION
OF FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL.

BOTH SIDES WERE DETERMINED TO BUILD A NEW RELATIONSHIP OF
EQUITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

BECAUSE OF THAT VISION, BECAUSE OF THAT DETERMINATION,
WE WERE FINALLY ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT.

(-NEW PAGE-) (NOW, AFTER 14 YEARS....)

NOW -- AFTER FOURTEEN YEARS ON OPPOSITE SIDES OF THE
BARGAINING TABLE -- WE SIT TOGETHER AS PARTNERS, EQUALLY
COMMITTED TO PUTTING INTO PRACTICE THE AGREEMENTS WE HAVE
FORGED.

(-OVER-) (DURING THE PERIOD OF.....)

DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION WHICH LIES AHEAD, THE
UNITED STATES AND PANAMA WILL BE WORKING CLOSELY TOGETHER.

BOTH OUR COUNTRIES WANT THAT TRANSITION TO BE SMOOTH AND
EFFECTIVE.

(-NEW PAGE-) (UNDER THE TREATIES....)

UNDER THE TREATIES, BOTH OF US ARE COMMITTED TO SAFEGUARDING
THE INTERESTS OF THOSE AMERICANS AND PANAMANIAN WHO HAVE OPERATED
THE CANAL SO EFFICIENTLY AND EXPERTLY DURING ITS PERIOD OF
AMERICAN STEWARDSHIP.

(-OVER-) (TOGETHER, OUR TWO COUNTRIES..)

TOGETHER, OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE SET AN EXAMPLE OF PEACEFUL
AND SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION THAT HAS FEW PARALLELS IN HISTORY.
WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR MUTUAL SINCERITY AND GOODWILL.

(-NEW PAGE-) (IN THE FACE OF.....)